## WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE RADICAL DEMOCRACY OF NEW YORK AND

THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRACY. Letter from Senator Chase, of Ohio, to Hon. B F. Butler, of New York.

Washington, July 15, 1852. DEAR SIR: The year 1848 will be memora ble in history as a year of movement, of progress, of enfranchisement. In that year it was ny fortune to be closely associated with you in political action. We were both members of the Convention of the Free Democracy which assembled at Boffalo : both members of the committee which unanimously reported the resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the Convention as its platform; and both members of the committee designated by the Convention to advise Martin Van Buren of his nomination. as the candidate of the Free Democracy, for the Presidency of the United States.

The grand object of that assemblage, declared by itself, was the union of the people, un-der the banner of Free Democracy, in a solemn and fin't declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control. The immediate and pressing neces-sity of the hour was the exclusion of slavery from the Territories acquired from Mexico but it was clearly understood that this exclu-sion, if accomplished, would not be a final settlement of the controversy between slavery and freedom. It was seen, on the contrary, that the slave power, resulting from the unity and magnitude of the slave interest, and its firm establishment in nearly half the States, would still be able to control the National Govern ment and prescribe its opponents through the action of national administrations, by its old policy of refusing support to any political parry not prepared to acquiesce in its demands, and giving support to that party which would most completely acquiesce. The Convention, therefore, did not confine itself to a simple declaration in favor of the prohibition of the extension of slavery into free territory, and the nomination of candidates hostile to such extension but, while denying the right of interfer ence by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State, resolved, nevertheless, that "it is the duty of the Federal Government to re-lieve itself from all responsibility for the exist-ence or continuance of slavery, wherever that Government possesses constitutional power to legislate on the subject, and is thus responsible for its existence;" accepted "the issue tendered by the slave power;" and to its "demand for more slave States and more slav territory." gave "the calm but final answer no more slave States, and no slave Territory and declared that "the Government ought t return to its original policy, which, as the his-tory of the country clearly shows, was not to extend, nationalize or encourage, but to limit localize, and discourage slavery. Having thus defined their position in respect to slavery, and having also unanimously agreed upon a platform of principles and measures, embracing all the important political questions of the day, the members of the Convention solemnly pledg-ed themselves to each other and the country. in this emphatic declaration

Resolved. That we inscribe on our banner. Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it will fight on and right ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our

I well remember the gratification and delight which you expressed upon the unanimous adop-tion of this platform by the committee, and when as its chairman, you reported it to the Convention. The scene which then ensued will not soon fade from the memory of any who witnessed it. The vast multitude, animated by one impulse literally shouted for joy. They seemed to feel that Democracy had, at length. broken the bonds of the slave power, and would henceforth have free course in its mission of it. You have not forgotten it; you will never enfranchisement and elevation, and that our forget it. by its spirit, would exhibit to the world the ex ample of a Government openly, fearlessly, and consistently in favor of freedom everywhere

in this great movement for human liberty.

Their devotion to freedom was not then for the first time proved. No sooner had it become evident that the war with Mexico must result tive denunciations with which the slave interest assailed all the friends of prohibition, shook ward zeal of some into cold indifference or open hostility. The Radical Democracy of New York, however, stood firm; and when, in 1847, the opponents of the Proviso, having obcuse, rejected a resolution in favor of that great measure, the Radical Democracy, assem-

delegations, vastly disproportioned to their electoral votes, and were unanimous in their hostility to the Proviso and its friends. The admission of the Utica, and in favor of the admission of the Albany delegates. The Convention rejected the report, and yet, refusing to decide the question of right, resolved to admit both sets, thereby neutralizing the power of the regular delegation quite as effectually as if they had been excluded. Thus proscribed on account of their principles, the New York delegation refused to take seats in the Conven-tion, and returning to their constituents, issu-ed a call for a Convention of the New York Democracy, to assemble at Utica, on the 22d of June, 1848, for the purpose of taking into consideration the existing condition of political affairs, and naming candidates for the Presi-

attended at Baltimore. Some of the slave

Convention, after declaring in the most explicit racy to the principles and measures of the

"The head and front of our offending con-sists merely in this: we had simply declared that, while we would faithfully adhere to all of the States, we were uncompromisingly opsoed to the extension of slavery, by any action of the Federal Government, into the territory of the United States, already or hereaf. ritory of the United States, already or hereaf-ter to be acquired, in which it does not exist and that to this end we desired, and, so far as as they should remain under the government of Congress. But, before the assembling of the Baltimore Convention, the slave power, in many of its conclaves, sat in judgment of these opinions, condemned them as heretical, de-nounced all who held them as apostates from the Democratic faith, and resolved to support no one for the Presidency or Vice Presidency

and decision of the New York Democracy in ern friends, having had things all their own is now before us. Strengthened by the influ-

lom, the Democracy of the State of New York felt it their duty to intervene. They opposed themselves to the current; and if they could ot wholly arrest, they stayed its progress. In heir primary and other Conventions, through the press, and in the various other forms in which, in this quarter of the Union, the masses are wont to make known their sentiments and wishes, the voices of the freemen of our State were lifted up to warn, to encourage, and to rally the friends of freedom, the lovers of jus-tice, and the supporters of the Constitution stifled at Syracuse, it pealed in trumpet-tone at Herkimer and Utica, and has since been re choed from every hill-top in the State.

It was in this spirit of devotion to justice, reedom, and the Constitution, and with the able purpose of bringing back the Governent to the policy of Jefferson, that the nominations of the New York Democracy were nade at Utica, in 1848. Contemporaneously with the Utica Conven-

tion, the opponents of slavery extension and the slave power, in Ohio, assembled at Colum-bus: rejected the nominees of both the Whig and Democratic National Conventions, as unriendly to freedom, and summoned a National Convention, to meet at Buffalo on the 9th of etts concurred in that summons.

General DODGE, of Wisconsin, declined the tica nomination, and the New York Democacy determined not to supply the vacancy, but ounite with the National Convention at Bufalo, in presenting to the American People canpossessed their undivided confidence.

their principles and views of public policy and of Whigs, whose attachment to Whig neasures had been overcome by their devotion to freedom, and their opposition to the en-croachments of slavery and the usurpations of the slave power. The New York Democracy

naturally took the lead PRESTON KING, a New York Democrat. ominent in Congress and at Baltimore, was Chairman of the first informal meeting, on the evening preceding the regular sitting of the Convention. In a short address, received with unanimous acclamation he stated the princi-ples which must form the basis of the political organization in which they were about to unite. was requested to embody those principles n resolutions, and present them to the Conin resolutions, and present them to the Con-vention upon its opening the next day, as the views of the meeting. Three resolutions were accordingly drawn up by him and presented to the Convention. I insert them, that it may distinctly seen what was the line of action respect to slavery, recommended by the New ork Democracy to the Buffalo Convention:

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself of all responsibiliwherever that Government possesses constituional authority, and is responsible for its ex-

Resolved. That the States, within which slavery exists, are alone responsible for the continuance or existence of slavery within such States, and the Federal Government has neither responsibility nor constitutional authority abolish or regulate slavery within the States

Resolved. That the true, and, in the judgent of this Convention, the only safe means f preventing the extension of slavery into the Territories now free, is to prohibit its exist-ence in all such Territories by an act of Con-

These resolutions, unanimously approved by the Convention, were referred to the Committee on Resolutions, of which you were chair-man, and were embodied in the platform. I have already spoken of the harmony which characterized the labors of that committee; the unanimity with which they agreed upon the platform, and the unanimous enthusiasm with which the Convention, with one voice, ratified

its principles and measures, and cordially acasy for the Convention to adopt the Utica although a large number of its members were already committed to the support of a New Hampshire Democrat, ever faithful to freedom, and then endeared to them the more by the haracteristic magnanimity with which he had laced the nomination which had been preously conferred on him at the disposal of the

MARTIN VAN BUREN, therefore, received say something."
The speech to which Mr. Van Buren referred he nomination for the Presidency, while CHAS. FRANCIS ADAMS, a grandson of the fore-most and ablest champion of the Declaration of Independence, and a son of the most distinguished and indefatigable defender of the right of petition and the liberties of the people, re-served the nomination for the Vice Presidency. The first of these distinguished citizens, him-

self an unwavering Democrat, had been eleself an unwavering Democrat, had been ele-ted to the highest political distinctions, both State and National, by the Democratic party; while the second, though hitherto in party con-nection a Whig, was a Whig of the Revolu-tionary stamp—of the school of Franklin and Jefferson—not of that modern school, marked by devotion to the Interests of Property rather

of the canvass which ensued that by this ac-tion of the Independent Democracy, the prohi-bition of slavery in Oregon was secured, and the exclusion of slavery from the other territories was made the most prominent theme of political discussion, and both the other parties the free States were compelled to declare tions of the Federal Government to slavery were subjected to a thorough investigation of the people, as well as the correct interpretation of the Constitution, demand the total divorce of the Federal Government from slavery. At the close of the canvass, it was found

one-ninth of all the voters in the United States, had enrolled themselves on the side of freedom What, then, was to be done ! No one seemlishanding arrived. On the contrary, the organization was everywhere maintained; and vertures for union and concert came from that division of the Democracy, which, during the recent canvass, had vainly expected success from concessions to slavery. In Wisconsin and Vermont, the two divisions of the Democracy united upon thoroughly Democratic platforms. unsullied by compromise with wrong. In Ohio and in Massachusetts, partial union and co-operation took place. In New York, the negotiations for a union were protracted. Conven-tions of both divisions met at Rome, in August, 1849, but separated without results. At length however, a State ticket was arranged, each division nominating half the candidates, independently of the other, and both divisions agreeing to support the whole ticket. Many of the Free Soil Democrats manifested a strong repugnance to this arrangement. They car nestly desired to maintain their own distinct or moracy should be willing to accept their principles and measures of the mocracy of the Union, said:

The head and front of our offending consistency in this we had simply declared at, while we would faithfully adhere to all a Compromises of the Constitution, and body of earnest men, whose adhesion was inber, and speeches were made by John Van Bu-

ren, Henry B. Stanton, and others, giving the strongest assurances that the proposed union would insure the recognition of these princi-ples by the entire Democracy of New York. An extract from a speech of Mr. Van Buren, upon the introduction of the resolutions, will

no one for the Presidency or Vice Presidency or Vice Presidency who should adopt or favor them. It was to carry out these predeterminations, to give effect to these foregone conclusions, that our delegates were placed under the ban."

The effect of these denunciations upon the timid and time-serving, as well as the energy and decision of the New York Democracy in the contemplate this result will do well to get out of the way; for there is no doubt that when our principles get fairly before the people, so that they can hear them, and know what they can hear them arrangements for that now—that the whole question of slavery and slavery extension was brought into discussion. The result will do well to get out of the way; for there is no doubt that when our principles get fairly before the people, so that they can hear the whole question of slavery and slavery extension which arcse on the petition just referred to, he said:

"What do they ask? They ask that, by the action of Congress, slavery shall be prohibited from going into the Territories. Very well; does the Senator pretend that the prayer of the Radical Democrater, as that of either of the Radical Democrater, as that of either of the Radical Democrater. Not many months, however, clapsed, between occasion presented itself for testing in a more striking manner, the consequences of the union.

Congress assembled in December, 1849, and the whole question of slavery and slavery extension which arcset of the Radical Democrater. Not many months, however, clapsed, between conclusions, that of either of the Radical Democrater. Not many months, however, clapsed, between conclusions them and extension presented itself for testing in a more striking manner, the consequences of the union.

Congress assembled in December, 1849, and the whole question of slavery and slavery extension which arcset of the Radical Democrater. Not many months, ted States. Those who do not contemplate this result will do well to get out of the way; for there is no doubt that when our principles get fairly before the people, so that they can hear

ticket was agreed to.

Immediately after this, both divisions of the the exercise of the power in respect to the Distriet, and only recommending its exercise in regard to the Territories "on occasions of attempts" to introduce slavery into them. The resolution further declared, that simple agree ment in support of the ticket, and not concurrence, even in these views, was to be made the basis of the union. This was certainly a serious retrogression from the position taken at Buffalo. and, only two days before, at Utica: and yet the leaders of the Radical Democracy still assured the friends of freedom that al was safe, and that the entire Democracy of New York would advance to the impartial application of Democratic principles to all questions, slavery included, and array its unbroken strength against the encroachments of slavery and the domination of the slave power. Many earnest opponents of slavery, relying on these assurances, gave to the united ticket, not a hes-August. A similar assemblage in Massachu- itating and reluctant, but a cordial and vigor-

ous support.
What ground they had for such reliance will appear from declarations made at the Sy-

didates representing their principles.

When the Convention assembled, it was found to be composed almost wholly of Democrats: of Liberty men, thoroughly Democratic cerity and integrity, had knit to him the affective and integrity, and whit to him the affective and integrity and integrity. tions of the Free Soil Democracy. He was formally called upon to address the Mass Con vention, and among other things said: The great question before the American people now is, shall the interests of slavery, as a political power, predominate over the principles of free-dom in this country? There is no doubt that this is the prominent question before the country. \* \* \* \* There is no doubt that the reason for not expressing such sentiments on this subject as are entertained, is the apprehension that the slave States will be lost. There is no doubt that this mercenary considcration hinders many from speaking out what they think and feel. The object of this Con-vention is to unite the party, so that its action may be unanimous in Congress in favor of freedom. And that action must be unanimous. We must require that every member of Con-gress from the North shall stand firm upon this question. I believe that our Conventions at Rome and Utica were sincere and unanimous in the determination to sacrifice everything else except principle to procure a union, and equally unanimous in the determination not to sacrifice a particle of principle. I believe, and we believe, that nine-tenths of the Cass men agree with us on this question. If not, I should not desire this union; but, for certain reasons which are unknown to me, certain men who have had much influence with them are not to a party which united their strength with ours last year, at Buffalo, in a way which excited my admiration. They wished to see the advancement of the principles of freedom, and showed no solicitude about the distribution of offices. Let us now be true to principle under this union, and they will go with us, and so will all honest and liberty-loving men; but the moment we abandon this principle they will

quit, and I will quit with them."

JOHN VAN BUREN, who had been regarded as the Cœur de Lion of the Free Democra-cy, and whose bold voice for freedom had rung throughout the land like a trumpet call, everywhere arousing enthusiasm, and everywhere inspiring determination, also addressed this Mass Convention. After declaring, in strong terms, his analtered convictions on the subject Convention assembled in Maylast. As in 1848, say, heretofore, that I would not support any man for the Presidency who does not believe slavery to be an unmitigated evil, and who will position; and as for me, I shall live and die by it. This committee have not reported that as

was delivered at Cleveland, on the anniversary of the Ordinance of 1787, just one month pre-vious to the assembling of the Mass Conven tion at Syracuse. In that speech he had thus

defined his position :
"When I have heard it said that no slave holder shall be President of the United States. I have dissented. Washington was a slaveholder; so was Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. am, however, the unmitigated enemy of slavery, and would have it abolished without delay. I say therefore, for myself—and I wish to be understood as speaking for myself alone cessity whatever, support any man for Presiobject in view? The answer is plain. By going back directly to that adopted and pursued by the immortal founders of our Government. is comprised briefly in this: No more slave States—no more slave Territories—the with-drawal of the support of the Federal Governmeans. I know very well we have no power to touch it within the States where it now exists but, even there, we can surround it by free

Against Compromise, that insidious enemy of liberty, he thus emphatically warned his hear-

see to it, that those who represent you are faithful to the cause of freedom; see to it, that

While these prominent Free Soil Democrats
thus gave their sanction to the proposed union,
it was understood also that the measure received the approbation of MARTIN VAN BU REN, who, in his letter accepting the Buffalo nomination, had not only declared himself as approving of the platform which the Convention had adopted," but as "conscious, from my impressions of right and duty in regard to it, that I shall be among the last to abandon it;" and who, in a very recent letter to the Cleveland Convention, had declared his unchanged conviction that "the influence of the Government should be kept actively and perpetually on the side of freedom."

Quotations of this character might be extended indefinitely. They might be gathered from the speeches and letters of public men; from the resolutions and addresses of political assemblages and committees; and from the columns of the press: but it is not necessary.

No one can doubt that the masses of the earnest Free Soil Democracy were induced to go into the union by the hope and expectation that the entire Democracy would unite in the great purpose to divorce the Federal Governpromises with wrong; and by their conviction that, in case this hope and expectation should be disappointed, that they who were now fore-most in recommending the union would be foremost in repudiating it.

That there was ground for the opinion so

These assurances prevailed, and the united locket was agreed to.

Immediately after this, both divisions of the guished statesman to say, that those measures, party met in Mass Convention, at Syracuse. At this Convention a resolution on slavery was him to the Senate, though they did not yield a adopted, affirming the constitutional power of Congress over slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, but not recommending they are the second the second they finally became, through the alterations by which it was sought to recommend them to slave State Senators. But it is due to truth, further to say, that not a single amendment was made in any one of the Compromise bills designed to make them more acceptable to the pponents of slavery Every change was against

The admission of California into the Union secured indeed the territory within its limits against the introduction of slavery, except brough the act of the State itself; and the prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia relieved the city of Washington of the slave pens which had disgraced us; though it continued to slavery itself, and to the ordi nary traffic in human beings within the District, the full protection of national legislation. The other acts, which converted a vast district of free territory into slave soil; assumed five millions of the Texan State debt; undertook, without any constitutional warrant, to bind future Congresses to admit slave States out of New Mexico and Utah, should the inhabitants allow slavery; and, in plain violation of the Constitution, in derogation of State rights, and in disregard of the common principles of justice and humanity, attempted to degrade the free-men of the North and West into the slavecatchers of the General Government, were all utterly repugnant to the principles of Radical Democracy. To approve of any of these acts, or to acquiesce in any of them—except the act providing for the settlement of the Texan oundary, and the payment of the Texan debt, which was in its nature irrepealable—seemed impossible for Democrats who had pledged their faith to freedom at Buffalo and Utica. Under these circumstances, the Democracy

f New York met in Convention at Syracuse on the 10th of September, while the Compromise Congress was yet in session. A united ticket for State officers was again nominated out the resolutions uttered no condemnation of obnoxious measures of the Compromise, which the Free Soil Democrats in Congress had perseveringly opposed; urged no action against na-tionalized slavery; failed even to recommend the repeal or modification of the Fugitive Slave Law-more odious and more irreconcilable with Democratic ideas than the Alien and Selition laws; but "congratulated the country pon the passage of the Compromise measures yled by the Convention "the recent settle ment, by Congress, of the questions which have mhappily divided the people of these States!" oncurrence in this action by the Radical De eracy was a virtual abandonment of the sitions maintained at Rome and Utica, and ren of the lower ground taken by the Mass

onvention at Syracuse.

Disregard of the claims of freedom, far less marked than this, had occasioned the Herki mer movement of 1847. Now, however, ac uiescence was judged expedient by those disinguished citizens who possessed their confidence, and again the Free Soil Democrats, with visible reluctance on the part of many, sustained the nominations of the Convention.

The same conventional action, followed by he same asquiescence, was repeated in 1851. Still the Free Soil Democracy of New York was uncommitted to the support of national was uncommitted to the support of national candidates nominated upon any other than the national Democratic platform of 1840, 1844, and 1848, which platform referred to slavery only in a single resolution, which had generally been construed by the New York Free Soil Democrats, as discountenancing not constitutional opposition to nationalized slavery, but unconstitutional interference by Congress with

of slavery, and the existing necessity for speech | so in 1852, slaveholding Conventions had deport no candidates, nominated or not nomi nated by the National Convention, entertaining those views of slavery which the Radical Dewhich were cherished as sound and constitutional by a large proportion of the free State Democracy, and which had been solemnly pro-claimed as the convictions of the whole De-mocracy of Ohio, by each successive Conven-tion, from 1848 to 1852, inclusive. All Democratic statesmen who would not take the test oath of allegiance to slavery were proscribed as inadmissible candidates, even for nomina-tion. As in 1848, so in 1852, many of the slave States were represented by numerous delega-tions, whose united clamors, upon all questions not taken by States, were able to drown the voices of the delegations of the free States, ral votes. These numerous delegations were appointed and attended in open disregard of the recommendation of the National Conven-tion of 1848, that the Democracy of each State When a slaveholder like them shall sustain our principles, he can bring to our aid a class of men no other man can reach; therefore, I do not think it proper to take such a position. I the first day of the Convention, to confine each State to the recommended number of delegates, and thus insure to each its proper weight in the Convention, it was opposed with such ve-hemence and pertinacity, that the proposition was finally abandoned, and the inequality again submitted to. The Convention thus constitudent, who does not believe slavery to be an unmixed curse, and who will not, by virtue of his office use all constitutional power to abolish it. the slave States—nominated FRANKLIN PIERCE, of New Hampshire, and WILLIAM R. KING, of Alabama, as candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. citizens to respect and honor for their private virtues and public services. I shall speak only of their relations to the Free Soil Democracy of the country, and of their positions on the great question of slavery, which is NOT SET-TLED, whetever which TLED, whatever politicians or political Con-

ventions may affirm.

The record of General PIERCE, as a Repre sentative and Senator in Congress, presents him as the denier of reference and consideration to the petitions of the people against nationalized slavery, and as the supporter of the extreme resolutions of Mr. Calhoun in favor of slavery. No public record, within my knowledge, indicates his position during those years following his return from Mexico, when the New Hampshire Democracy took ground against territorial slavery and nationalized slavery in this District. In his recent letter, accepting the nomination of the Compromise Democratic Convention, however, after declaring with what "pride and gratitude" he should cherish the recollection of the fact that "the voice which first pronounced" for him, "and pronounced alone," came from Virginia, he proceeds to say:

"I accept the nomination, upon the platform adopted by the Convention, not because it is slavery. No public record, within my knowl-

adopted by the Convention, not because it is expected of me as a candidate, but because the principles it embraces command the approba-tion of my judgment, and with them I believe can safely say that there has been no word

or act of my life in conflict."

The whole political life of WILLIAM R. KING, the nomines for Vice President, has been marked by hostility to the principles of

the Free Soil Democracy.

With FRANKLIN PIERCE he opposed the reference or consideration of petitions against shavery, and sustained the Calhoun resolutions in 1837. At a later period, he united with the epponents of the right of petition in denying to petitions of this character the poor privilege of reception. In 1850 he even went so far as to move to lay upon the table the question of reception of a petition against the extension of slavery into New Mexico and California, and, of course yould for the motion that the process of the course yould for the motion of the course yould for the motion. of course, voted for the motion, the effect of An extract from a speech of Mr. Van Buren, upon the introduction of the resolutions, will show the character of these assurances:

"I will state." he remarked, "fairly, freely, and fully, what we expect. We expect to make the Democratic party of this State the great Anti-Slavery party of the United States the great Anti-Slavery party of the United States. Those who do not contemplate this ted States. Those who do not contemplate this of the way: for

petition does not call for action on the part of this hour of Freedom's peril, was thus vividly portrayed in this address:

This untoward state of the united states of the interests of free-interesting defection to the interests of free-interesting defection to the interests of free-interests of the United States can go to those Territories, and the interests of the United States can go to those Territories, and the interests of the United States can go to those Territories, and the power and influence of the United States can go to those Territories, and the power and influence of the United States can go to those Territories, and the power and influence of the United States can go to those Territories, and the power and influence of the United States can go to those Territories, and the power and influence of the United States can go to those Territories, and the power and influence of the United States can go to those Territories, and the power and influence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States and sent to any part of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States and sent to any part of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States can go to those Territories, and aidence of the United States and the united States

and carry his property of every description

On another occasion he said "I believe that whenever a Territorial Government is established, if persons holding slaves think proper to go there with them, this Government is bound to protect them till the period arrives when the population is sufficient for the formation of a State Constitution."

On another occasion he said : "Are we not protected in our property if we choose to go there? I hold that we are, and that the Territorial Legislature has no power whatever to pass any law which destroys that description of property in that Territory. They are bound, on the other hand, to pass laws for the protection of property, of whatever descrip-tion. \* \* \* Sir, I have no apprehension of the force of Mexican law; and if I chose to remove with my property into that Territory, would not be deterred one moment by the

apprehension of any such law."
In his letter accepting the nomination of the Convention, he thus declares his present posi-

The platform, as laid down by the Convention, meets with my cordial approbation. It is national in all its parts; and I am content, not only to stand upon it, but, on all occasions, to Now, what is the platform thus endorsed by

these eminent citizens? There has been little or no controversy, of late, in the ranks of the Democracy, except on the subject of slavery. In regard to this subject, radical differences ave existed.

The opponents of nationalized slavery and layery extension were willing to unite with neir brethren, who disagreed with them on hese questions, upon a platform which should cave these matters of difference open to dis-ussion, without prejudice to either side, and n support of a ticket so constituted as to afford guarantee that the influence of the Adminisration, should the nominees be elected, would not be brought to bear against either side Honorable men, having a common attachment to Democratic principles and policy, and sin-cere in the maintenance of Free Soil principles or of the Compromises, could not, it would seem, without a sacrifice of self-respect, act together upon any other ground. But the main-tainers of the Compromises and the supporters of slavery were not content to unite with their Democratic brethren upon these terms. They lemanded an endorsement of the Compromises and a distinct pledge against Free Soil speech and action. Hence all the interest felt in the platform converged upon the resolutions relaing to slavery; and, in the present condition of the public mind, these resolutions may be said constitute the platform. They are as fol-

Resolved. That Congress has no power ander the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Consti-tution: that all efforts of the abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead the most alarming and dangerous consemences: and that all such efforts have an invitable tendency to diminish the happiness of he people, and endanger the stability and pernanency of the Union, and ought not to be ountenanced by any friend of our political in-

"Resolved. That the foregoing resolution overs and was intended to embrace the whole ubject of slavery agitation in Congress; and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures, settled by the last Congress, 'the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor' included; which act being designed to carry out an ex-press provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to

resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may

he made." These resolutions satisfy in full the demands of the Compromise Democrats. They repudiate the construction placed by the New York Democracy upon the slavery resolution of the original Baltimore platform, and pledge the entire Democracy to the support of the Compromises; to the perpetual maintenance and execution of the Fugitive Slave Law; and to resistance to all discussion of slavery, in Congress or out of Congress, under whatever shape or

than the nominees of the Convention, to place the Democratic party in its present attitude. Gen. PIERCE, in behalf of Northern Compromise Democrats, thus wrote to Major LALLY at Baltimore, immediately before the sitting of

the Convention:
"The sentiment of no one State is to be regarded on this subject; but having fought the battle in New Hampshire upon the Fugitive Slave Law, and upon what we believe to be the ground of constitutional right, we should, of course, desire the approval of the Democracy of the country. What I wish to say to you is this: if the Compromise measures are not to be substantially and firmly maintained, the plain rights secured by the Constitution will be trampled in the dust. \* \* If we of the North, who have stood by the constitutional rights of the South, are to be abandoned to any time-serving policy, the hopes of Democracy and of the Union must sink to-

to C. H. Donaldson—that noted man of straw—had thus strongly expressed his feelings in regard to Free Soil Democrats, and the necessity of repudiating all political connection with

"So long as a large portion of the former Democracy of the North lend themselves to the advocacy of Free Soil doctrines, and make common cause with the infamous agitators and Abolitionists, no portion of the Southern Democracy will ever be found acting in concert with them. All our troubles have arisen from the extraordinary conduct of those professing Democrats in whom the Democracy once reposed unbounded confidence, and felt delighted to honor. But for their base abandonment of principle. Abolitionism would be sufficiently as a suppose that the suppose the the sup of principle, Abolitionism would have still been confined to a portion of the Whig party, and a small squad of ignorant fanatics."

This statement presents the question: Can those Democrats who united at Buffalo in a olemn declaration of their independence of he slave power, and of perpetual opposition to slavery extension and nationalized slavery, or those who, perceiving the entire harmony of this declaration with the great principles e Democracy, have since declared their concur rence in it, now support the nominees of the Baltimore Compromise Convention? It cannot be denied that the slavery resolu-

tions of the Convention's platform are utterly irreconcilable with this declaration. The candidates represent the platform, and espe cially the slavery resolutions. To their influ ence and action the course of the Convention, in the adoption of these resolutions, must, in no small degree, be ascribed. It is not easy to see how any man, whether Radical or Hunker. see how any man, whether Radical or Hunker, Free Soil or Pro-Slavery, in view of these facts, can hesitate as to the proper answer to be given to the question just asked. To me it seems that consistency, honor, self-respect, fidelity to engagements—indeed, all obligations, moral and political—bind Free Soil Democrats to

withhold their support from these nominations And yet I am aware that not a few promi And yet I am aware that not a few prominent individuals, deeply engaged to the Free Soil Democracy, and among them the three distinguished New York Democrats, whose declarations I have quoted in a former part of this letter, have announced their purpose to support the Compromise candidates. I am aware, too, that with two or three unhappily listinguished exceptions, the Free Soil Demo as much as ever opposed to nationalized slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law, and as ready as ever, whether as private citizens or as Repre-sentatives, to speak and vote against both.

sentatives, to speak and vote against both.

I entertain a very high personal respect for these gentlemen. I followed their lead, cheerfully and realously, until, in 1850, they acquiesced in the Syracuse resolution congratulating the country upon the passage of the Compromise measures. Notwithstanding this, I still hoped and believed that, upon the occurrence

age, and to rally the friends of freedom, the lovers of justice, and the supporters of the Constitution;" that it would again "peal, in trumpet-tones, at Herkimer and Utica," and

be re-echoed from "every hill-top in the State.' Thousands share with me the keen regrets occasioned by the disappointment of this hope. Thousands—and among them not a few New York Democrats—while they will not question the motives or the fidelity to their own convictions of those who take a different view, fail to see either the propriety or prudence of supporting the Compromise Ticket, and thus giv-ing the highest possible sanction, even while in words rejecting it, to the Compromise Plat-

If it be not yet too late, I would respectfully ask these gentlemen themselves, what they ex-pect to gain for Freedom or Free Soil Democracy by supporting the Compromise Ticket ! Is it that Free Soil Democrats will share i the patronage or influence the action of the

Administration, in the event of success? This expectation must rest upon one of two suppositions: either that Free Soil Democrats will forego the assertion of their principles, in which case Freedom would gain nothing, but lose much; or that General PIERCE, notwithstanding the platform and his present position, wil give prominent stations to men whose actions will endanger that very slave interest which h is expected specially to guard, in which case the supporters of that interest will have just cause to complain. Is either of these supposi

tions likely to be realized? Is it that the extension of slavery will be checked, or the removal of nationalized slavery secured? Every one knows that the leading idea of the platform, fully endorsed by the can didates, is the indefinite perpetuation of slavery at the national capital, with all the reproach it brings upon our institutions and Government and the permanent maintenance, as irrepeal-able of the Fugitive Slave Act, marked as it is by the most unwarrantable invasion of the rights of the States and the liberties of individuals. It is well known, also, that persisten efforts are now being made to introduce slaver into California, either by an alteration of the Constitution, or by a division of the State and the establishment of a Territorial Governmen in the southern part; to convert Utah and New Mexico into slaveholding Territories, with view to the creation of slave States; and to ex tend slavery by insular or continental acquisitions, in which the system now exists or may be established. To none of these projects car any effectual opposition be expected from the Administration of the Compromise Nominees

Is it that the other great interests of Free dom and Progress will be promoted? What word does the platform contain in favor of constitutional improvement of Rivers and Harbors so important to the progress of the West, and to which the Free Democracy pledged its sup port at Buffalo! What word in favor of Lan Reform, so important to the settlement of the public domain, and so beneficent to the struggling masses of our native population, and to the emigration which presses upon us from the Old World? What word in favor of any action or declaration by our Government, in favor of the nations of Europe contending for freedom against despots? No State has more uniformly and steadily opposed all these measures of Progress and Reform and Freedom, than that which "pronounced first and pronounced alone" for General PIERCE at Baltimore. Nor is there any vote or act of his, so far as l am aware, which does not justify its preference Is it that Free Soil Democrats expect that, whatever may be the result of the pending election, the cause of Freedom will still survive? that the principles of living Democracy will still inspire determination to maintain right and resist wrong? that, at length, the slave power, with all the oppression and injus-tice it upholds, and with all its ostracism, social and political, of earnest friends to liberty, will be overthrown? and that our National Government will become what our fathers designed it name, with all its influence actively and perpetually on the side of freedom at home and throughout the world? This expectation wil not, I hope, be disappointed; but, if fulfilled, it will not be through but in spite of such action as that of the Baltimore Compromise Convention. The support of its nominees, I am firmly convinced, will not hasten but retard its fulfil

respect for those who differ from me, the reasons which convince me that Free Soil Demo crats cannot, without marked inconsistency mocracy. I address them to you because it so happened that we were co-laborers in the preparation of the platform promulgated by the Buffalo Convention, and afterwards closely connected in our relations to the Convention and its nominees; because also, we both profess the same Democratic faith, and desire the success of the same Democratic measures. I know not what your judgment will be after the persual of this letter. For myself, I confess that it is with the deepest regret that I find myself comtime, from any portion of the Democratic par ty of the country, and especially from those New York Democrats with whom it has been New York Democrats with whom it has been my pride and pleasure, hitherto, to act. Had a liberal and tolerant spirit prevailed in the Baltimore Convention; had no new tests, in-compatible with Democratic principles, been imposed; had the nominees represented that spirit, and the ideas of reform, progress, liber ty, and economy, embodied in the original plat-form, no division need have occurred. The convention is responsible for the division.

I have thus stated frankly, but with entire

mise Democracy upon new tests, created the ne-cosity for a Radical and Independent Democracy am ready to submit to the judgment of can did Compromise Democrats themselves, whether any honorable course remains for those who think as I do, and mean to act as they think, other than independent action? Let even those Free Soil Democrats, who propose to vote the Compromise Ticket, say whether we, who refuse so to vote, do anything more than carry out their own declarations and adhere to their own principles!

May it not be hoped that there yet remain

many thousands of Democrats in New York who will prefer to act with the INDEPENDENT DEMOCRACY, openly and avowedly on the side of liberty and progress, rather than with a COMPROMISE DEMOCRACY, intolerant alike of the claims and the friends of freedom I remain, with the highest respect and regard

LIGHT'S LITERARY AGENCY, No. 3 Cornhill, Boston,

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AZA AR NOLD, Patent Agent.

Washington, D. C., 1st month 29th, 1852—6m

A. Arwoth refers by permission to his Excellency P. Alen, Governor of Rhode Island; Edward W. Lawton, Col. of Cus., Newport, Rhode Island; Edward W. Lawton, Col. of Cus., Newport, Rhode Island; Hon. Thomas J. Rusk, U. S. Senate; Hon. C. T. James, U. S. Senate.

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March 18.

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MARLHORGO HOTEL.

MARLBORO' HOTEL.

# TEMPERANCE HOUSE. JENKS 4 PARKS, No. 1229 Washington street, Boston. U. W. JENKS. Okrob 20-149 ORANGE MOUNTAIN WATER-CURE.

ORANGE MOUNTAIN WATER-CURE.

THIS establishment, founded in 1849, is situated near the village of Scuth Orange, Essex county, New Jersey, five miles from Newark, and fourteen miles from the city of New York, on the line of the Morris and Essex railway, by which passengers are landed at the Starlen House of the establishment, a few minutes' walk from the do r.

The location is upon the southeastern slope of the Orange mountain, commanding a view of one of the loveliest valicys and two of the pretitiest villages in Eastern New Jersey. On the east and morthwest it is sheltered by mountains from the sea air and cold winter wirds.

All the requisites for such an establishment are here found, viz: pure mountain spring water, beautiful and retired walks through the woods and upon the mountains for several miles in extent, and helded from the winds in winter and the sun in summer; springs and streams along the various paths, and picturesque scenery.

In the ravine, immediately in the rear of the institution, flows a beautiful brook. Upon the margin of this stream, which descends in a rapid succession of cascadea, are the out-door baths, a great variety of which have been provided. Among these are found the rising and falling dende, the running and rising sitz-baths, the running foot-bath, the piunge and wave baths.

In the grove, a few rods from the institution, a capacious swimming-bath has been obtained by damming the mountain stream. For this a pleasant series is formed by a light awning curtained to the surface of the pond, afferding ladies and children at all times ample opprortunity for gaining that valuable accomplishment, a knowledge of the art of swimming.

gardens are allotted.

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vants, \$3 per week. Children always received conditionally.

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